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QUEBEC: INTO THE STREETS

In the winter of 1966, Rene Levesque, then a minister in the Liberal government, spoke in the ballroom at McGill University about reforming Quebec's social welfare schemes.

"The trouble is that you've got a leaking, sinking ship, and people are just bailing the water out. You've got to patch up the holes," said the Family and Social Welfare Minister, and strained to hear what someone in the back row was yelling.

What the fellow at the back said was: "Why the hell don't we get a new ship?"

Nationalist demonstrations are not a phenomenon in Quebec. Neither are militant, bloody strikes. French university students have conducted political protest demonstrations at least since 1901, when they opposed sending Quebecois to fight for British imperialism in the Boer War.

Thirty thousand people marched through Montreal in 1885 to protest the hanging of Louis Riel, so calling the Ottawa government racist and repressive is not endemic to the present. You can find the word "imperialist" levelled at the British in Papineau's writings before the abortive 1837 revolt, and again during the anti-conscription riots of 1917.

So today, students march in the streets of Montreal and Quebec by the tens of thousands; strikes plague north shore mining towns; the unilinguists assault the school system. And a few English cynics who have read a bit about the history of Quebec still take it calmly as "deja vue", pointing out that in this curious corner of North America, it is, like acne, just a nuisance that comes and goes.

But most English in Quebec know that, today, things are different.

It was not "violence" that shocked them on October 7, 1969 when students and taxi drivers ripped apart the buses and cars of Murray Hill Limousine Co. while the entire Montreal police force was on strike. They had seen violence before; they had seen the Stock Exchange bombed, they had watched the riot squad wade into a crowd, swinging their three-foot batons. Nor was it the sight of a few thousand Quebecois in the streets, for that too is quite familiar.

What shocked the English was the painful realization that it is no longer possible to isolate labor problems, the educational system, or language questions - that these are all being attacked together. Militant labor leaders were actively supporting student strikes, students allied with taxi drivers to attack the Murray Hill monopoly. And the greatest shock of all came when the police began behaving like any other labor group, and struck. The lines were drawn frightfully clear that night. The English press across Canada called it a night of terror. It was, for the English.

Le Quebec aux Quebecois

The great new fear, born of a realization that the problems can no longer be isolated, is coupled with an even greater change from the Quebec of decades past - the Quebecois has begun to realize the same thing. If the teacher demonstrates against his low salary, he is only a corporatist, self-interested protester. But when he joins other workers in a cause that is not supposed to be his own particular concern, he exhibits the kind of solidarity that is the password to liberation. The English call it insurrection.

In 1962, a few hundred students from l'Universite de Montreal demonstrated peacefully in front of the CNR's head office in downtown Montreal. It was the first big nationalist demonstration of the 60's, and it was protesting the CNR's policy of not hiring French-speaking senior executives. The students burned a Canadian red ensign flag and an effigy of CNR president Donald Gordon.

The great "separatism" debate was on. Toronto theatre groups began inviting Quebec companies to cross the border and show off their cultural wares to the cognoscenti, and Berlitz started raking in a fortune.

The next year, the first Front de Liberation Quebecois blew up several of Her Majesty's royal mailboxes in English speaking Westmount.

In 1969, the FLQ was bombing the Montreal Stock Exchange and the head office of Noranda Mines Ltd. And when it hit Westmount, it hit the home of the president of Murray Hill Limousine Services, chief enemy of Montreal's increasingly militant taxi drivers.

The nationalist demonstrations were even bigger, but the demonstrators were talking about more than having executives speak French. When they attacked McGill university, they attacked it not only as an English bastion but as a bastion of English capital.

Citizen's Committees were forming the fight the landlords and trust companies - and they soon got the point that the landlords and the banks were English.

The President of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions was marching in demonstrations for French unilingualism. In Quebec, Michel Chartrand said, capital speaks English and the worker speaks French (and the government is bilingual). A handful of English speaking socialists agreed, and marched for unilingualism too.

If Chartrand was right, and the national and social questions are indivisible, why only now, 200 years after the Conquest, is there a movement contesting both.

As recently as 1920, Quebec was still largely rural, and backward. There had been some development in the textile and lumber-paper industries, by British and, latterly, American capital. But not enough to change the base of the value system, and of social organization, as it had stood in essence since the battle on the Plains of Abraham.

Quebec is rich in natural resources - principally minerals, timber and water for hydroelectric power. And it had a crucial plus - an untapped supply of cheap labour. American capital began to move in and overtake the British and Anglo-Canadian interests. In the 30's, accelerating through W W II and the post-war period, Quebec underwent its major industrial revolution.

Typical of the American entry into Quebec was that of Hollinger-Hanna, a consortium of US steel companies which began exploiting the deposits of iron ore along Quebec's north shore in the late Forties and early Fifties. Hollinger-Hanna consolidated its Canadian operations into the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, which has since sent over 150,000,000 tons of ore to the Cleveland, Ohio, smelters of the Republic, National, Armco, Youngstown and Wheeling steel companies.

The Duplessis government, in order to attract the steel companies, negotiated a paltry one cent a ton tariff on ore carried out of Quebec. A few years later, when Joey Smallwood negotiated 30 cents a ton from the same companies for iron ore exploitation in Newfoundland, he faced a chorus of critics accusing him of "selling out to American interests for virtually nothing."

From the same roots as the soft words toward American investors sprang Duplessis' use of the big stick against incipient trade unionism. In 1949, he viciously crushed the strike against the US-owned Johns-Manville Co. at Asbestos, sending in waves of QPP (virtually a private Union Nationale army at the time) to break up picket lines and run through truckloads of scabs. Asbestos set a pattern that was to be repeated throughout the 1950's.

As a result, American capital came into Quebec on its own terms, and the wages of the French worker stayed well below that of his English counterpart. This was reflected in the educational system, or rather systems. English schools were better equipped, more scientifically oriented, and better financed. French schools were characterized by poor teaching and clerical control, at the lower levels, and by a stress on classical disciplines like Greek and Latin at the higher levels. Common professions for the better-off French were law, medicine, the clergy.

Those who sought decent-paying jobs learned English, and educated their children to speak English. This applied even to the French upper-middle class, because to be a corporation lawyer, for example, one had to speak English.



The Union Nationale government, despite the aggressive quasi-nationalist stance in favor of provincial autonomy that it frequently took against Ottawa, was a convenient ally for the English commercial and industrial elite. Since the government accepted the need to accommodate foreign capital and keep the mass of the population in a cheap labor pool, the St. James Street boys were more than happy to fill the Union Nationale coffers at election time - another key part of the strange alliance behind Duplessis.

Thus, the English commercial and industrial bosses, and the branch managers of American capital, maintained their domination over the French population by supporting a native class of "rois negres" (former Le Devoir editor Andre Laurendeau's phrase, comparing the Quebec bourgeoisie to the black African chiefs who served colonialism).

To paraphrase Michel Chartrand: Capital spoke English, Labor spoke French, and the government was bilingual.

The Union Nationale was re-elected time and again as a result of the backing of the rural areas (Montreal was preponderantly Liberal). In return, it supplied material assistance such as farm loans, road development, telephones, and various forms of patronage. On the cultural level, they protected the farmers and the Church from the centralizing Liberal influence of Ottawa.

By the late fifties, however, the shaky alliance was breaking down.

The labor movement grew in militance proportionate to Duplessis' repression, and became a powerful force by 1959. Quebec's intellectuals and professionals were discontented with government disregard for such liberal values as freedom of the press and labor's right to unionize. But most important, the needs of capital were changing: it now demanded skilled labor and a government that provided technocrats to plan roads, hydroelectric power, and communications systems. It needed a new managerial elite.

The Quebec Liberal Party, meanwhile, was building the sort of team that would be able to reorient Quebec along these lines.

Maurice Duplessis, undisputed "Chef" of the Union Nationale for 23 years, died a quiet death in the Iron Ore Company of Canada's palatial guest house in Schefferville on September 18, 1959.

The Liberals, under former federal Northern Development and Natural Resources minister Jean Lesage, moved in with a promise to "open the window and air out the place." To the workers they promised reforms of the labor code, and a revamped social welfare scheme. To the intellectuals and young technocrats they promised educational reform. To the investors and corporations, they promised a smooth administration and a host of skilled managers and technocrats.

On June 22, 1969, the Union Nationale was defeated. Lesage was in, and he delivered on the promises. The notaries and small town politicians were replaced by a new generation of technocrats - young sociologists, economists, engineers and planners from the universities and the corporations. It was called the "Quiet Revolution."

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For two years, Quebec experienced a period of rising confidence, as labor leaders, students, and technocrats defined the needs of their own particular sectors. Confidence peaked with the 1962 election. It was fought on this issue of whether or not to nationalize the hydroelectric power companies. Natural Resources Minister Rene Levesque, fought for nationalization, and won. Lesage broke out the election slogan that raised eyebrows in Ottawa: *Maitres Chez Nous* - Masters in our own house.

Quebec should produce its own engineers, set up its own laboratories, modernize its own schools, launch its own industries, and generally provide for the needs of its own people.

But while the government could give workers the right of collective bargaining, it could provide neither the wage hikes they demanded, nor security against price increases.

While it could draw the blueprint for educational reforms, it could not pay for them.

The nationalization of Hydro may have seemed a proud moment, but it was perhaps not nationalization in the strict sense: Quebec BOUGHT the companies from the private interests that controlled them. But Quebec could not buy back all of its sold and stolen resources. The Liberals had come in on a wave of rising expectations, and briefly rode its crest, but in the end, they drowned.

Over 60% of Quebec's industry is U S owned. The rest is owned largely by interests in Britain and English Canada. Representative of this domination is one Canadian mining corporation, Toronto-based Noranda Mines Ltd., which controls a whole series of company towns across northern Quebec. In the largest and oldest of these, Rouyn-Noranda, Noranda and its subsidiary, Quemont Mines, employ 2,200 of the 30,000 residents. When the city government wants to build a park, it has to get the company's approval - and grant it an option to take over the land whenever it wants. The local newspaper is owned outright by Noranda Mines. Attempts at farming in the area have all failed - because of the soot from Noranda's smelter.

Outside Quebec it appeared that the changes of the Quiet Revolution were building a strong French Canada within the federal structure, that there would be conflicts, but, as Quebec leaders were constantly saying, the final outcome would be good.

However, change within Quebec had its own momentum. The Liberal team of technocrats was opening doors long closed giving the promise of a new tomorrow. When they were unable to keep the promise, many decided to see it fulfilled by other means.

A sense of history and the power of people to make it seeped into Quebec; it was impossible to apply the brakes. Through 1967, 68, 69 the pace quickened, the conflicts that had always been there grew sharper, broader, and more bitter.

In the 1940s and '50s, the primary threat to the power of the Duplessis regime had come from militant labor unions. The premier's response had become a Union Nationale trademark - arrests, clubs, rampaging provincial police. Now, the main threat came from the streets. The response of Duplessis' successors was the same, down to details.

The crackdown was at first aimed at individual groups - CEGEP students, citizens' committees - and, more recently, has expanded into a general attack on the whole movement.

It started with repression in the CEGEPs after the occupations of October, 1968. Then, during the planning of Operation McGill, the police began harassing organizers, detaining them for questioning, and searching their homes. Later, the offices of Comites des Citoyens and Comites des Ouvriers were raided, their files confiscated, their leaders detained for questioning. During the Union Nationale congress in Quebec City, sixteen people were arrested for distributing the FLP newspaper *La Masse*, and after the Operation Congres march a temporary LIS headquarters was raided and twenty more arrests were made. In September, Michel Chartrand of the CNTU was detained on a year-old ticket and charged that Quebec was becoming a "police state" (a few weeks earlier his statement had been given substance by new Quebec Justice Minister Remi Paul, who announced "anti-terrorist" measures that involved giving the police wide discretionary powers and granting legal sanction to the tactics that had been used since March).

The terrorism which Paul was attacking was the increasing bomb explosions directed by the third FLO. The first, in 1963, hit mailboxes and armouries; it was aimed solely at the federal connection. The second, of 1965-66, moved into labor struggles, planting bombs at such places as Dominion Textiles and the LaGrenade Shoe Co., both with anti-labor policies; it was this organization which included Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon.

The third began in 1968, hitting strike bound companies, federal buildings and, significantly, centres of Anglo-American capital and provincial political parties (eg. 7-Up during a bitter strike, the Stock Exchange, the Liberal Party's Reform Club, the homes of Charles Hershorn, President of Murray Hill Limousines, and Jean Drapeau, Mayor of Montreal).

Like its predecessors the third FLO was not organically tied to the movement, but its activities reflected the changes in direction in Quebec.

Quebec Francais

But the symbols of repression in Quebec were two intellectuals who had been the ideological leaders of the 1966 FLO - Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon.

Vallieres and Gagnon were arrested and charged with murder for their roles in the bombing death of Therese Morin, a strikebreaker at the LaGrenade shoe factory, in 1966.

Vallieres and Gagnon's supporters have maintained that they are not criminals at all, but political prisoners. On October 31, 1969 the state hit them with a political charge - sedition.

The sedition clause in the Criminal Code of Canada reads:

Section 60(4): "Without limiting the generality of the meaning of the expression 'seditious intent', everyone shall be presumed to have seditious intent who (a) teaches or advocates, or (b) publishes or circulates any writing that advocates the use without the authority of law of force as a means of accomplishing a governmental change within Canada."

Section 62: "Everyone who (a) speaks seditious words, (b) publishes a seditious libel or (c) is a party to a seditious conspiracy is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for 14 years."

The basis of the charge was a book, *LES NEGRES BLANCS d'AMERIQUE*, written by Vallieres in prison. The prosecution presented such excerpts from the book as "global revolution ... must be organized - intellectually, morally, politically and militarily - into a truly revolutionary force ..." and "... the white Negroes of America are determined to smash, once and for all, the yoke of slavery and to take over control of their own destiny ..." to back up its case.

Sedition is a rarely-used charge, but this was the second time it had been applied within two months. Following an LIS march in St-Leonard in September, during which the riot act was read, Raymond Lemieux, Laurier Gravel, another LIS leader, and ex-boxer Reggie Chartrand of Les Chevaliers de l'Independance, were also hit with sedition charges. Like Vallieres and Gagnon, they are now awaiting trial.

Quebecois dans la rue

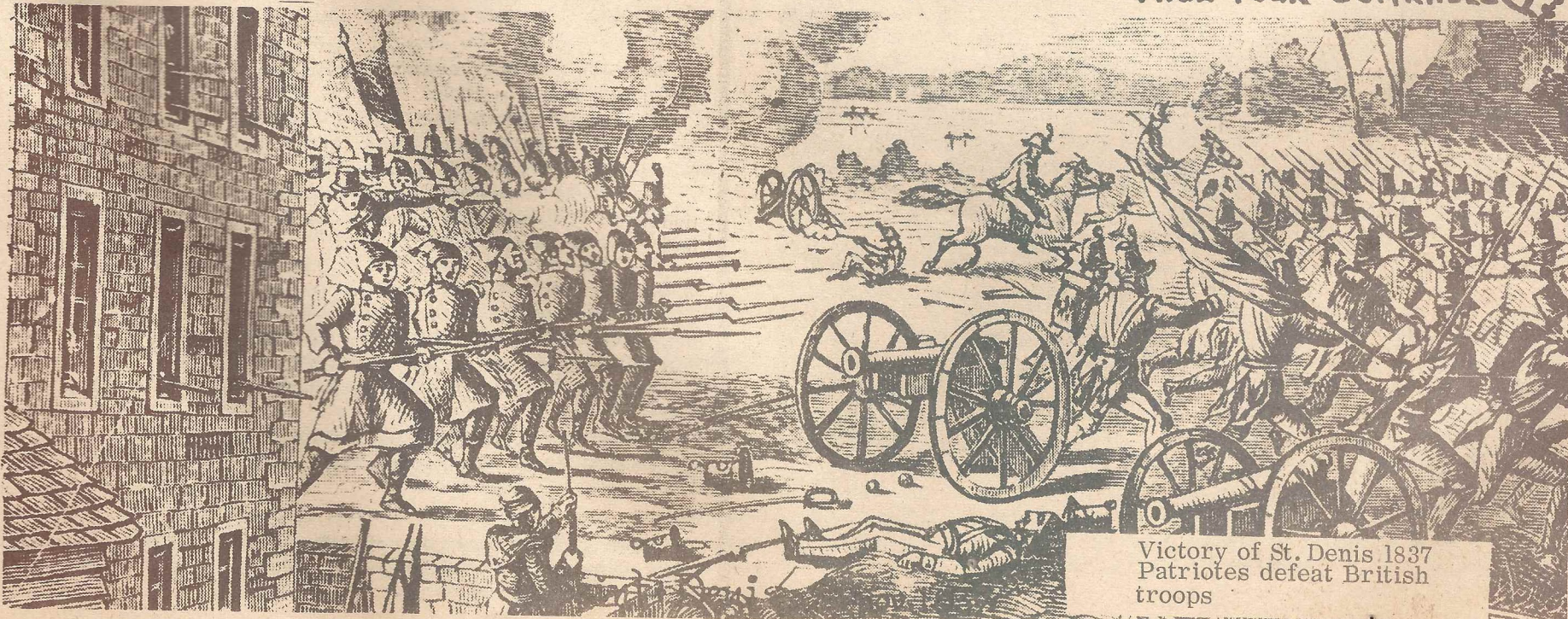
This was one part of a marked intensification of the repression campaign. An anti-repression march called Operation Liberation, demanding the release of Vallieres and Gagnon and the resignation of Remi Paul, and tying in repression with such questions as Bill 63, St-Leonard, and McGill was already being planned for November 7 when the police mutiny happened. At that point, Montreal Executive Committee Chairman Saulnier, federal Prime Minister Trudeau and a little-known Quebec lawyer entered the fray.

Saulnier lit out after the Quebec branch of the federally-sponsored CYC, accusing it of harboring subversives and demanding a Royal Commission to investigate it. The nature of the Company's activities had been known for a long time and Saulnier's timing suggested that he was trying to deflect mounting criticism of his administration for its role in the October 7th uprising.

Trudeau made the usual attack on "subversives", and threw in another favorite bogeyman - the French language network of the CBC, some of whose broadcasters are INDEPENDENTISTES. He demanded the network be "more balanced" politically or the government might "put the lid on". His speech, to a \$50-a-plate Liberal fundraising dinner in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, prompted LE DEVOIR to run a cartoon of an elegantly-dressed man with a key standing on a copy of CITE LIBRE, the intellectual journal through which Trudeau carried on his fight against Duplessis and his "Padlock Law" in the 1950s. "Enough of this nonsense," it quoted from the speech.

Lawyer Anthony Malcolm, chairman of the Canada Committee and vice-president of the Quebec section of the Liberal Federation of Canada was next. In a speech to the Mount Royal Women's club, he named 27 "subversives" operating in Quebec and charged that members of the Quebec movement were being trained in Cuba, had financial support from the Palestinian guerrilla group Al Fatah, and were also receiving help from Algeria, the Soviet Union, and the Black Panther Party.

CONTINUED:
PAGE FOUR COMRADES



Victory of St. Denis 1837
Patriotes defeat British
troops

Québec: days la rue

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It was in this atmosphere that 3,000 people gathered in the rain in Montreal's Lafontaine Park on November 7, 1969 and marched to the Palais de Justice. The slogans were militant and a few molotov cocktails were thrown, but by and large the demonstration was peaceful. Then, on the way to l'Université du Québec for a rally, the cry went up, "A la rue St-Jacques!" and the demonstrators marched through the city's financial district. At first they were only chanting slogans, then someone broke a bank window, and before the police broke up the demonstration with motorcycles the windows of many of Quebec's major corporations and financial institutions had been smashed and several rocks thrown into the offices of the MONTREAL STAR (English newspaper).

The next day, Saulnier announced that the Executive Committee would take into its own hands the power to ban demonstrations and public assemblies at will. "It is because we have neither money nor official propaganda on our side that we have to take to the streets," Raymond Lemieux commented. "And we will take to the streets again".

On November 10, Michel Chartrand became the 6th person in less than two months to be charged with sedition in Quebec.

One member of the Toronto left came to Montreal for the Operation Liberation march, and found himself on St. James St. being charged by rows of cops on motorcycles. Horrified, he grabbed the midnight flight back to Toronto.

Another Toronto radical listened to a Montreal friend describe the feelings of liberation and collective consciousness in the crowd that marched down Ste-Catherine St. during the police strike smashing the windows of English businesses. "I don't believe this kind of thing can happen," he said.

But Quebecois had grown used to motorcycle cop arbitrary arrests, and sedition charges.

And they know that the kind of thing that occurred October 7 can and does happen, and will happen again.

This is an abridged version of an article by Peter Allnutt & Robert Chodos, which appeared in the LAST POST. Copy of the complete article and other literature on Quebec can be obtained from:

Free Quebec-Free Canada Committee
509 Carrall Street, Vancouver
683-2630



"In our society, justice is one of the most badly administered social functions. On the penal side, we are tied to a system that is closer to the middle ages than to the contemporary era."

P E Trudeau
May, 1964

"You cannot tell lies to the people; they will not believe you. People are more sophisticated now."

P E Trudeau
June 17, 1969

-the most important fact about Quebec is that 83% of the people speak FRENCH while only 17% speak ENGLISH. In the 'engine of the province' (Montreal) the ratio is 70% French-speaking and only 30% English-speaking.

- 'colonialism' is the system in which a country maintains foreign colonies for its economic exploitation. Quebec is a colony within Canada and a colony within the American Empire.

- "Canadians of British origin occupied a more favourable position in Montreal than in the province of Quebec and a more favourable position in both these areas than in Canada as a whole. Because of this, Canadians of French origin are more disadvantaged in Montreal than in the rest of Canada." (Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism)

- over 53% of the Quebec labour force works for Anglo-Canadian or foreign-owned firms.

- the average number of employees was 94 in Quebecois-owned firms, 145 in Anglo-Canadian enterprises, and 332 in foreign-owned establishments.

Quebecois firms employed only 22% of the labour force in the manufacturing industries and produced only 15% of manufacturing output in Quebec.

INDUSTRY

% of Quebec productivity in establishments owned by:

	Quebecois	Anglo-Canadians	Foreign
textiles	2.1	68.3	29.6
iron & steel	11.7	28.9	59.4
non-ferrous metals	3.7	11.6	84.7
petroleum & coal	0.0	0.0	100.0
chemical & medical	6.5	16.4	77.1
precision instruments	4.6	23.5	71.9
paper	4.8	53.3	41.9
rubber	8.0	37.5	54.5
clothing	8.2	88.6	3.2
machinery	18.3	17.0	64.7
transportation equipment	6.4	14.4	79.4
miscellaneous	24.5	41.3	34.2

- in the largest sector of Quebec industry, manufacturing, the value added by Quebecois establishments was 1/4 that of Anglo-Canadian and 1/7 that of foreign-owned firms.

- yearly output of a Quebec worker was \$6,500 for a Quebecois firm, \$8,400 for an Anglo-Canadian firm, and \$12,200 for a foreign controlled company.

% of total controlled or owned by:

	Canadians		U.S.		Other	
	own	control	own	control	own	control
manufacturing	46%	40%	10%	14%	44%	46%
petroleum and natural gas	36	26	10	12	54	62
mining and smelting	38	41	8	7	54	52

-the problem of foreign capital is more acute for Quebec than it is for Canadian industry as a whole.

- of the total exports from Quebec, Quebecois firms were responsible for less than 5% of the total while Anglo-Canadian and foreign-owned firms provided 44% and 52% respectively.

- the existing situation of Quebecois enterprise is unnatural, limited and traditional. The national and international firms are Anglo-Canadian and (even more so) foreign-owned.

- over 60% of Quebec industry is U S owned; the rest is owned largely by British and Anglo-Canadian interests. (source: LAST POST)

- Quebec accounted for only 20.6% of new jobs in Canada last year while Ontario accounted for 43.6% of them (source: FINANCIAL POST) while unemployment in Canada as a whole dropped to 4.7% in 1969, in Quebec it rose to 6.9% with only the Maritimes being lower. (FINANCIAL POST)

- taxes in Quebec are the highest in Canada but incomes are 10% below the Canadian average and 20% below Ontario. (FINANCIAL POST)

- Canadian banks have assets of more than \$40 billion, yet the two banks controlled by Quebecois have less than \$2.5 billion. (TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL)

réalité québécois



While many Québécois have not seen the statistics, they are quite familiar with the conditions they describe.

- about 80% of the \$11 billion plus spent by Québécois on goods and services is supplied by Anglo-Canadians and Americans. (GLOBE AND MAIL)

- in the case of one city, Cap de Madalaine:

FIRM:	NO. of EMPLOYEES
Reynolds Aluminum (USA)	675
Consolidated Paper (USA)	400
St. Regis Paper	415
Tooke Bros. Ltd.	465
Continental Paper	150
Norton Co.	115
Lingerie d'Enfants Reg'd. (largest Québécois firm)	50

- the Toronto based company, Noranda Mines Ltd., has company towns all over northern Quebec. In Rouyn/ Noranda, the company employs 2,200 of 33,000 residents, owns the only newspaper outright and controls the city government. (LAST POST)

- minimum wage at Noranda mines in Quebec is \$2.40/hr. while it is \$3.00/hr. at Inco mines in Sudbury, Ontario. (LAST POST)

- in 1968 less than 6,000 of 35,000 immigrants to Quebec were French-speaking. Only one out of 20 of the remainder adopted French as their main language. (CANADIAN FACTS) Immigration is a federal government power.

- if the majority of a firm's customers are English-speaking, it is unlikely that French will be the working language of the firm.

- the Canadian military organization has made little effort to establish a situation which would permit Francophones to enter the Forces and pursue a military career in their own language and within the framework of their own culture.

- in the Canadian Forces, French-Canadians made up 24.6% of the soldiers, 14.2% of the sergeants, 13.1% of the lieutenants, 9.9% of the captains, 7.9% of the majors and 6.3% of the colonels and higher. (This is the army which now occupies Quebec)

CLASS in COLONY

- "As proof of his own commitment to the province, Charles Bronfman of Distiller's Corp. (Seagrams) offers his personal investment in Montreal; he is building a house costing more than \$1 million in Westmount." (GLOBE AND MAIL)

- during Drapeau's tenure as mayor of Montreal 935 low-cost housing units were built in that city. In the same period 12,645 were built in Toronto and 1,350 in Vancouver (a city 1/3 the size of Montreal) (LAST POST)

- housing starts were down 11.9% in Quebec in 1969. (FINANCIAL POST)

- in Montreal, Québécois income was \$330 below the cities averages, while Scottish-Canadian income was \$1,319 above.

- Québécois hold only 27% of the key management posts in the 30 largest corporations in the province. (GLOBE AND MAIL)

- only 6.7% of the directorates of major Canadian firms are composed of French-Canadians. (VANCOUVER SUN)

- present unemployment in Quebec is set officially at 10% and unofficially at much higher. (LAST POST)

- people of British origin earned \$1,898 more than those of French origin.

- fewer than 27% of Montreal's English-speaking population speak French. (VANCOUVER SUN)

- Canadians of British origin have an average of 21 1/2 years more schooling than those of French origin in Quebec.

- educational attainment and occupational status closely followed income in Quebec with English-speaking people higher than French-speaking in all cases.

- of 14 ethnic groups those of British origin had the highest average income, while people of French origin ranked third from the bottom above only native Indians and Italians.

- in Quebec an unilingual 'anglais' earns \$5,502, more than a bilingual 'anglais' (\$4,772), who in turn earns more than a bilingual Québécois (\$4,350) and at the bottom is the unilingual Québécois (\$3,099). In Quebec and more so in Montreal "It pays not to speak French."

- British-Canadians have incomes 10% higher than those of French origin in every province except Quebec where their incomes are 40% higher.

- the average salaried engineer in Montreal of French origin earned \$6,961 compared to \$8,465 for his English counterpart.

- over 30% of the grants to universities in Quebec went to English language institutions.

- the English language institutions still have a far greater proportion of all Quebec students than their English language base in Quebec would warrant. (LAST POST)

- French-Canadians are under represented proportionally in all 10 provinces and in Canada as a whole in professional and technical occupations, in managerial positions and in clerical and sales jobs. British Canadians were over-represented in ALL cases. French-Canadians were over-represented in primary work such as crafts and production and labouring jobs while British Canadians were under-represented in all of these.

- among advisors to the Quebec government are representatives of Iron Ore of Canada (U S owned); Distillers Corp./Seagrams (U S); C P Railways (Anglo-Canadian); Texaco of Canada (U S); Bank of Montreal (Anglo-Canadian); Royal Trust; Molson Industries; Royal Bank of Canada; Steinberg's Ltd. (all Anglo-Canadian) and Bell Canada (US). (FINANCIAL POST)

- Robert Bourassa, who requested that Canadian troops be called into Quebec to preserve law and order, is a graduate of Harvard and Oxford. He is married to Andree Simard, who is independantly wealthy. Her cousins, Arthur, Jean and Leon Simard hold directorships or are connected with over 70 companies. Some of them are:

Marine Industries Ltd., Reynolds Aluminum of Canada Ltd. (USA), Provincial Bank of Canada, Royal Petroleum Corp. (N.Y.), Consolidated Bathurst (USA), Engineering Products of Canada, Canadian Advertising Agency, Power Corp. (owners of La Presse, Canada Steamship Co., Provincial Transport Ltd. and many others), Warnock-Hersey Ltd. (USA), Quebecair, Southwestern Oil and Refining Co. (Texas), Meagher's Distillery, Sorel Steel Foundries, West River Ore Co., and Canadian Inter-urban Properties Ltd. (LAST POST and FINANCIAL POST DIRECTORY of DIRECTORS)

"They are the murderers."

P E Trudeau, October 1970.

NOTE: Sources for this article, unless otherwise stated, were taken from The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

the media is the...

Our current national crisis was precipitated by a military tactic (kidnapping). The tactical response also was military (the armed occupation of Quebec). But the real conflict is POLITICAL: the struggle to win and mobilize the support of the people of Quebec.

The media, particularly the radio and TV, played an unprecedented role in the struggle. The media itself was a key element in the political conflict. On one side Trudeau, Bourassa, and the police tried to control, curtail and restrict the INFORMATION available to the people. On the other side, the FLQ tried to increase the involvement of the media so as to promote and intensify the direct participation of the Quebec people. Because the FLQ was more successful than the government and because, as a consequence, large sectors of the Quebec population moved to support the key FLQ demand for the exchange of political prisoners, Trudeau and Bourassa desperately resorted to a military occupation of Quebec, censorship of the media and the foreclosure of all forums of popular discussion. The War Measures Act was not primarily directed against the FLQ. Preventive detention, search without warrant, confiscation of material - all these violations of the rule of law, all these acts of police disorder, occurred BEFORE the War Measures Act. No, the act did not facilitate nor was it intended to facilitate the discovery of the clandestine FLQ cells. The act did facilitate in the immediate situation - and this was its intent - the suppression of popular, democratic discussion by Quebec people of the aims and methods of the FLQ, of the problems of their own society and of their desire for national independence.

MEDIA: COMMUNICATION-PARTICIPATION

The very first lengthy communique of the FLQ shows the positive importance they attached to the media. Besides demanding the publication of their manifesto on the front page of all Quebec newspapers, the FLQ demanded it be read on radio and TV between 8:00 and 11:00 in the evening, and commented on by the released political prisoners before their departure from the country. Moreover, the prisoners were to be accompanied to their destination by at least two political commentators of French language Quebec dailies. This communique was left in a locker at the University of Quebec on the day of the kidnapping, October 6. The response of government officials shows how important they thought it was to restrict the involvement of the media. The contents of an envelope left on a neighbour's lawn at the time of the kidnapping of Cross has never been made public. Neither has the third communique of the FLQ. The Quebec Minister of Justice, Choquette, also refused to release the first FLQ communique to the press. Rather, he summarized it, making some demands appear vague when they were very precise and totally excluding the extensive political statements in the communique. In a similar kind of tactic the Ottawa government spokesman, Mitchell Sharp, said in a televised address that while the government was prepared to broadcast the FLQ manifesto, they didn't know precisely which document was involved and so couldn't immediately implement the demand. Yet that same afternoon Montreal radio station CKAC had broadcast the manifesto which it had received directly from the FLQ. To ensure the full and immediate broadcast of its position to the Quebec population, the FLQ henceforward delivered its communiqués DIRECTLY to one or other of two Montreal radio stations, CKAC and CKLM. Mr. Cross himself wrote to the government saying: "It will be faster and easier for everyone if all the FLQ communiqués are published in full." On the back of a letter from Mr. Cross to his wife, the FLQ even invited Mrs. Cross to talk directly to her husband on the radio. The station was willing but Mrs. Cross never replied. And again in their 7th communique the FLQ complain that the authorities are only playing for time and "are refusing to let the people know the content of communique No. 6 as well as a public letter from J. Cross".

Robert Lemieux, the lawyer for many of the FLQ political prisoners, was also actively involving the media. Lemieux's press conferences began shortly

after the kidnapping of Cross and were regularly attended by over 300 representatives of the international and Quebec media. In these conferences, Lemieux attacked the government for the vagueness of its responses to precise FLQ communiqués and for its denial of rights to persons already imprisoned. Against the government's charges of terrorism he spoke of the desperate economic and social situation in Quebec. His role was curtailed only by his imprisonment by the government on Oct. 11 prior to the War Measures Act for allegedly obstructing the process of justice. Lemieux commented: "The government has taken a legal measure against someone who has said things contrary to its positions, a measure analogous to that it has taken against members of the FLQ." It was after Lemieux's arrest and imprisonment that the Montreal police and Trudeau began strongly and openly to attack the media itself - for giving too much publicity to the FLQ and for referring to those jailed as political prisoners (the term used by Bourassa himself).

But the evaluation of the media by the people of Quebec was quite opposite to the opinions expressed by Trudeau. In an opinion survey 90% of the respondents expressed strong or moderate approval of the media's performance. Moreover, 80% of the people could identify Robert Lemieux who previously was an unknown lawyer. This reflects the importance Quebecois attached to the events, the intensity with which they followed them and the immediacy with which they were communicated.

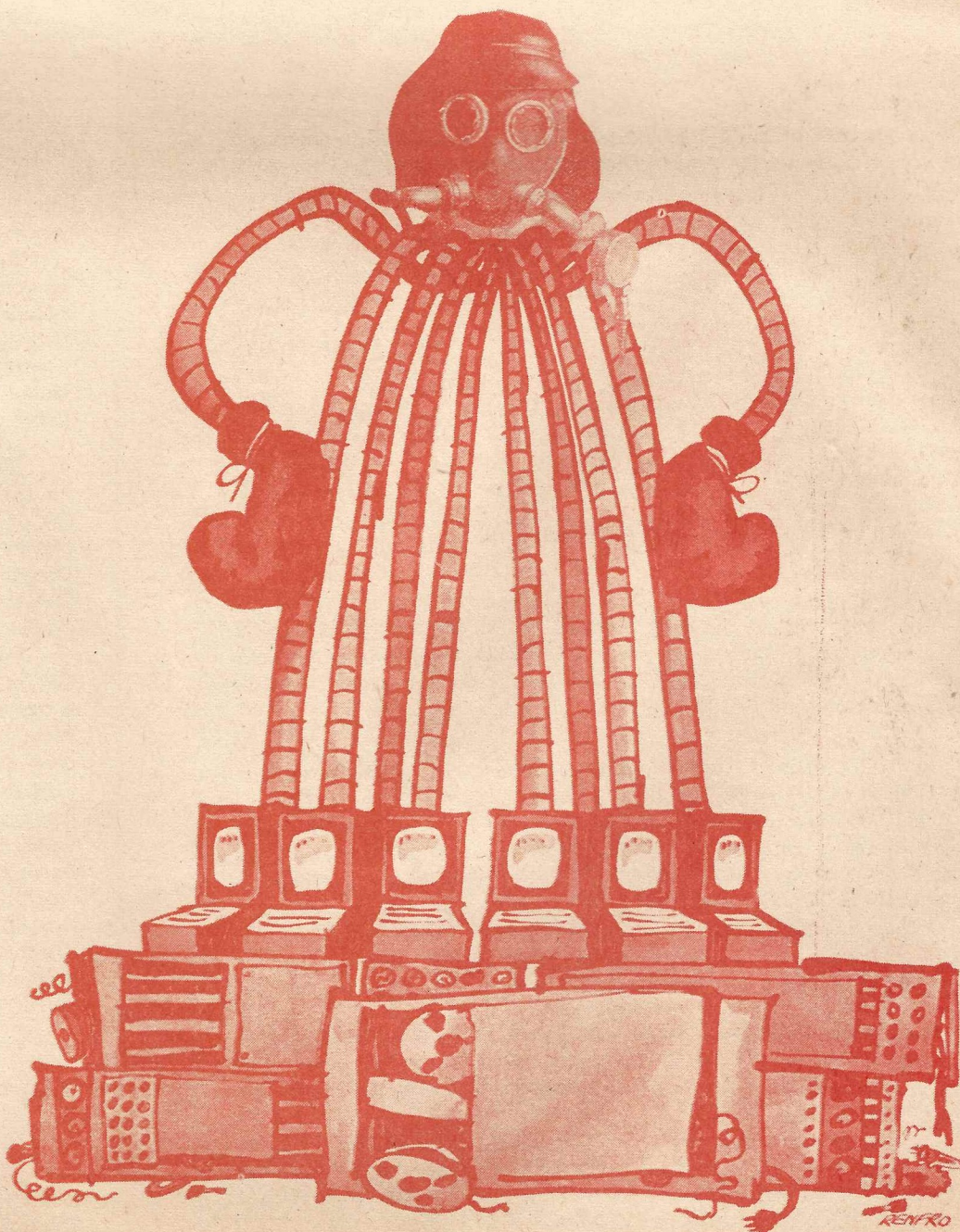
A writer for the highly respected Montreal liberal paper LE DEVOIR said it very clearly the week-end after Laporte's kidnapping: "For almost an entire week-end, in one of the most dramatic events of the time, everything was laid out before the public, people were made aware of everything through the medium of the electronic media before the official - and powerless - representatives of authority were

informed. All normal practice was thrown out: administrative, police, even diplomatic. There were no longer secrets, nor sliding panels, nor whispering in the backrooms." The same writer continued: "One must ask what are the effects of this new phenomenon of communication-participation. It doesn't seem that there has been the least indication of a real popular panic. It would be surprising if there had been: in an atmosphere of public tension, it is ignorance of the facts and uncertainty that give birth to fear, not a total awareness of everything that is going on."

After the War Measures Act, with direct censorship and self-censorship, ignorance of facts and uncertainty gave birth to fear in Canada. THEN anxieties were manipulated by, for example, banner headlines in the Saturday edition of the Vancouver Sun that, according to GOVERNMENT information, the FLQ had sadistically captured and tortured a woman. That story was shown to be a lie Monday - in a small, 2½" column on page 11! The media was used to channel our human aversion to death into a requiem for Laporte, to transform Laporte into a social crusader and hero: the same Laporte who participated in the government policy to sacrifice Cross; who pleaded for his own life when captured; who this past summer introduced special legislation to break a lengthy and bitter strike of construction workers in Montreal. The War Measures Act ended the communication of information and began the creation of popular hysteria.

QUEBEC-OTTAWA

Quebec is not Canada. And the popular response to the kidnappings in Quebec is not the same as that elsewhere. In the beginning, when government figures were the prime actors, the difference was not evident. Trudeau made off-hand responses to Diefenbaker's questioning in the House of Commons about Cross' well-being. Choquette talked flippantly of the FLQ phoning him directly to discuss a settlement. Laporte was a key cabinet member in the Quebec government-Ottawa government decision to reject all FLQ demands and to sacrifice Cross. But as the crisis of authority continued and deepened with the kidnapping of Laporte, new voices were raised and became increasingly strong and effective. While Ottawa remained inflexible and Bourassa in Quebec became increasingly vague and indecisive, the influential editor of LE DEVOIR (who had supported



Bourassa for the leadership of the Liberal Party), Rene Levesque, leader of the Parti Quebecois which received 30% of the French-speaking vote in the last election, the executives of the three major trade union confederations in Quebec (representing 500,000 membership) publicly urged the exchange of political prisoners; the executive committee of the council of all the national unions in Montreal said it "unequivocally supports all the objectives of the FLQ manifesto" and refused to condemn "those who no longer believe in 'democracy' and in judicial power dominated by an economic dictatorship which we have always denounced..."; students and faculty in universities and junior colleges (CEGEP's) held mass assemblies and endorsed prisoner exchanges and the FLQ manifesto. It was to curtail this escalating participation, to crush this democratically expressed resistance of Quebecois to the hard-line of Ottawa that troops occupied Quebec and the War Measures Act was imposed. If there is any doubt, one need only read the list (albeit incomplete and unofficial because of OFFICIAL secrecy) of those arrested: unionists, members and candidates of the Parti Quebecois, artists, journalists, lawyers, professors - of a list of 60 published in the Vancouver Sun only 8 were listed as having any affiliation with the FLQ. One need only listen to the smears of FRAP (a socialist, grass-roots, civic election group in Montreal) by Drapeau, who is running against them and who tells the people of Montreal that "blood will flow in the streets" if they are elected, and by Cabinet Minister Marchand, who one day labels them a 'front' for the FLQ and the next day backtracks with an excuse that his English was not precise. (This is but one of the signs of considerable confusion in the Federal Cabinet.)

REPRESSION

The argument has been made that the War Measures Act was necessary to facilitate police pursuit of the FLQ. The common counter-argument is that there were sufficient powers under the existing Criminal Code and the police were not even using all of these. Beyond this, the simple fact is the police have been no more successful since the War Measures Act than they were before in apprehending members of the FLQ. Most important of all, it is a sheer myth to believe the police ever felt restricted by the niceties of the law and so required wider powers to be "effective". Instances of police disorder and judicial arbitrariness long predate the imposition of the War Measures Act. For example, the Quebec Federation of Journalists has made totally unsuccessful complaints for several years, concerning the police's unwarranted seizure of documents and violation of confidentiality. "Preventive arrest" without charge and confiscation of political material have been used regularly by Montreal police to prevent or curtail public demonstrations. Charles Gagnon and Pierre Vallieres were held in jail and denied bail for close to four years for their political beliefs. In fact, according to Robert Lemieux, one of the motivations for the kidnapping of Cross was the arbitrary administration of Quebec justice. Lemieux had formally and legally requested amnesty for the political prisoners several months ago and had never received even an acknowledgement of his request.

Certainly the rule of law was breached more than observed after the Cross kidnapping. One day after the kidnapping, there had been around 30 "preventive arrests". Lemieux was prevented from seeing several of those arrested who wished him as their lawyer. On Oct. 8, large numbers of armored troops were rushed nearer to Montreal from a more distant military base. By Oct. 9, three days after the kidnapping, the Quebec Provincial Police (QPP) had made their 1001st raid, according to the Oct. 10 edition of the Toronto Globe and Mail. On that same day, copies of the periodical QUARTIER LATIN were confiscated. The office of Robert Lemieux was broken into by police and professional dossiers and documents were confiscated. (This seizure and violation of legal confidentiality was protested by a number of Quebec attorneys.) Lemieux himself was arrested and his lawyer hindered from seeing him on Oct. 11. On Oct. 12, two people were arrested in Quebec for distributing FLQ literature. By Oct. 15, the Quebec Cabinet had placed 10,000 policemen and 3,000 to 5,000 soldiers under the command of the head of the QPP.

This is not the first time Quebec has been militarily occupied. After the Rebellion of 1837, there was an occupation. During the anti-conscription struggle of World War I, Quebec was again occupied. This is the third occupation. Like the previous two, its goal is the suppression of a popular struggle for social revolution and national independence.

Communiqué no 1

Great Britain's representative in Quebec, M. J. Cross, is in the hands of the Front de Liberation du Quebec.

Here are the conditions that the established authorities must fulfil in order to save the life of the representative of the old racist and colonialist British system.

1- They will have to see that the repressive police forces do not make the monstrous mistake of attempting to jeopardize the success of this operation by using searches, enquiries, investigations, arrests or any other ploy.

2- The political manifesto that the Front de Liberation du Quebec will forward to the established authorities will have to appear in toto on the first page of all the large Quebec papers. The established authorities, after consultation with these papers, will have to make public the list of Quebec papers which agree to publish our manifesto. But it should be quite clear that every region in Quebec will have to be covered.

Moreover, this manifesto will have to be read in toto and commented on by the political prisoners, before their departure, in the course of at least a thirty (30) minute radio and TV broadcast, direct or on video, between eight (8) and eleven (11) in the evening on Radio-Canada and its affiliated stations in the province.

3- Liberation of the political prisoners: Cyriaque Delisle, Edmond Guenette and Francois Schirm, Serge Demers, Marcel Faulkner, Gerard Laquerre, Robert Levesque, Real Mathieu and Claude Simard, Pierre-Paul Geoffroy, Michel Loriot, Pierre Demers, Gabriel Hudon, Robert Hudon, Marc-Andre Gagne, Francois Lanctot, Claude Morency and Andre Roy, Pierre Boucher and Andre Ouellette (recently re-arrested by the police of Drapeau-the-dog).

Wives and children of the political prisoners will have to be permitted to accompany them if they wish.

Moreover, political prisoners Andre Lessard, Pierre Maril and Rejean Trambly, presently free on bail, will be permitted to join their patriotic comrades and leave Quebec if they wish.

4- An airplane will have to be placed at the service of the political prisoners in order to assure their transport, either to Cuba or to Algeria, after an official agreement with one of these two countries. Moreover, they will be accompanied by their respective lawyers and at least two political commentators of two French-speaking Quebec dailies.

5- In the course of an assembly attended by the Lapalme workers and the Minister of the Post Office (or a responsible representative of the Minister), the latter will promise to rehire the Lapalme workers. This promise of rehiring must be based on the conditions and rules established by the revolutionary workers of Lapalme before the break-off of negotiations. This assembly must take place within forty-eight (48) hours following the issue of this communique, and the meeting will have to be open to the press.

6- A voluntary tax of \$500,000 in

gold bars will have to be placed on board the airplane and put at the disposal of the political prisoners. (When one thinks of the expenses necessitated by the recent visit of the Queen of England, of the millions of dollars lost by the Post Office because of the stubborn millionaire Kierans, of the price we pay to keep Quebec in Confederation, etc...500,000 is peanuts!)

7- The NAME and the PHOTO of the informer of the last cell of the FLQ must be made public and published. The Front de Liberation du Quebec is withholding considerable information about the activities and behaviour of this blackguard and is no longer waiting for "official" confirmation to act.

By this action, the Front de Liberation du Quebec wishes to draw world attention to the fate of French-speaking Quebecois, ridiculed and trodden on in their own land by a mistaken political system (Canadian federalism) and by an economy ruled in the interest of US high finance, big boss racists and imperialists.

By looking back at the origins of Confederation, we can best understand what were the true interests (\$\$\$) which motivated those who are called the Fathers of Confederation. Besides, in 1867, the Quebec people (Lower Canada) were not consulted regarding the opportunity of creating a confederation of the existing provinces. It was a matter of huge sums of money and such questions were only debated among those who worried about such things, the capitalists, those who owned and accumulated capital, the means of production, who, to suit their own needs and requirements, arranged our life and that of a people.

Thousands of Quebecois have understood, as our forefathers of 1837-8 did, that the only way of guaranteeing our survival, national as well as economic, is total independence.

The Front de Liberation du Quebec unconditionally supports the Black Americans and those of Africa, the Latin American liberation movements, those of Palestine and Asia, the catholic revolutionaries of Northern Ireland and all those who struggle for their liberty, their independence and their dignity.

The Front de Liberation du Quebec especially salutes the people of Cuba and Algeria who are heroically struggling against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms, for a just society where exploitation of man by man is banished.

However, we believe that the only real worthwhile support that one can give to the people who are moving toward their liberation, is that we first liberate ourselves. During and after our struggle, we will provide much more than the standard sympathy-of-intellectuals-who-block-out-the-images-of-aggression-that-are-cast-into-their-pleasant-milieu-and-environment-of-serenity-and-peace.

IMPLEMENTATION

Here is the way the different operations will be implemented:

1- On receipt of this communique by the established authorities, they must free at once all the political prisoners previously listed and take them to Montreal International airport. Here a private room will be immediately put at their disposal so they can fraternize, become familiar with the manifesto, the conditions and implementation of the operation. A complete copy of the manifesto and this communique will be given to them.

2- No harm, cruelty, torture or blackmail must be inflicted on them.

3- In the hours following the liberation of the political prisoners, one room temporarily will be made into a studio. From there, they will be able to: - communicate with their respective lawyers - publicly make known their personal decisions. The political prisoners can agree or refuse to leave Quebec; in other words, the patriotic prisoners have the right to dissent, in view of the disparity of the sentences imposed on each. - to read and comment on the manifesto in the course of a radio and TV broadcast, the conditions for which have been stipulated above; - meet all their friends and militants who wish to go there.

4- The established authorities must guarantee the return to Montreal of the legal advisors and journalists who will have accompanied the political prisoners to Cuba or Algeria.

5- The "voluntary tax" of 500,000 dollars in gold bars will have to be brought to Dorval by NINE BRINKS TRUCKS. If this poses some technical difficulties, the authorities can surely consult the "experts" who so brilliantly knew how to pull off the now celebrated "Brinks show" of the last election. Reporters (such as those of the 'Gazette' like in the good old days) can be present at the departure and arrival of the "joyous caravan".

All these conditions and their implementation must be completed within forty-eight (48) hours from the issue of this communique. All the conditions are unalterable. The life of the diplomat depends then on the good will of the established authorities.

When the Front de Liberation du Quebec will have been assured of the return of the lawyers and reporters and when these have confirmed the arrival of the political prisoners as well as the voluntary tax (after verification of this by Cuban or Algerian experts), and when they have confirmed that everything has been implemented according to our instructions, only then will the diplomat be freed.

We are certain that the patriotic political prisoners will benefit from the Cuban or Algerian experience, and we thank these people in advance for the kindness they will display toward our Quebecois comrades.

We shall be victorious.

Front de Liberation du Quebec.

Communiqué no 2

The condition of M. Cross is very good. Everyone, particularly his wife, can be assured. M. Cross has written a letter to his wife. It has been placed in a mail box at the corner of Sherbrooke and Victor-Bourgeois.

We have already sent a copy to the central council of the CNTU.

We appeal for your co-operation to act as a means of communication, to break the wall of silence which the fascist police have built around our liberation operation, by

systematically sending all our communiques and our manifesto to the different media for which it was intended.

The established authorities do not seem to take seriously the demands of the FLQ already formulated in the first communique.

In order to save the life of M. Cross, it would be wiser to act according to our conditions.

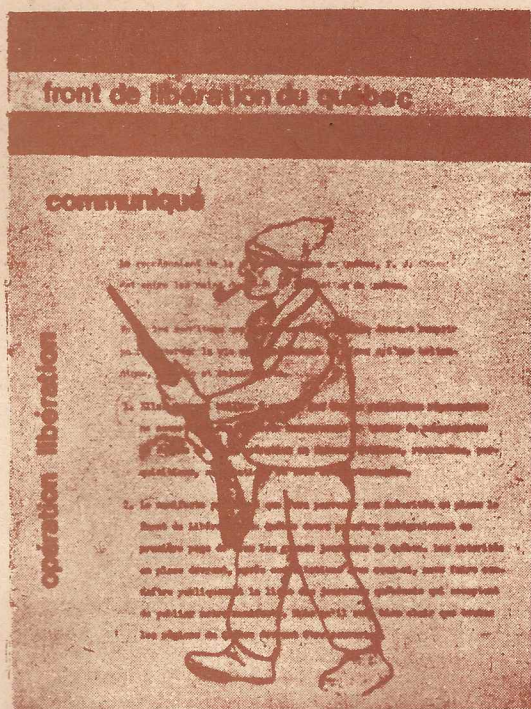
It is certain that when the deadline expires that we will not

hesitate to end the life of M. Cross for the life and liberty of the political prisoners and the Lapalme workers is worth far more than a hundred diplomats who represent the sole interests of the "big boss" Anglo-Saxons and Americans.

The established authorities will bear sole responsibility for the death of M. Cross.

We will win.

Front de Liberation du Quebec.



Communiqué no 4

The Front de Liberation du Quebec has decided to grant a delay of 24 hours to the established authorities to permit them to show their good faith. This extension will expire on Thursday, the 8th of October at 12 noon.

As proof of their good faith we demand of the established authorities:

1- The complete publication of the FLQ manifesto on the State station, Radio-Canada. This will be broadcast on radio and television between 8

and 11 in the evening. It will be read by a responsible reporter (eg. C. J. Devirieux).

2- The immediate halt to all searches, investigations, and arrests by the repressive police forces.

We will consider the total refusal to accede to our first demands as proof of bad faith.

Rest assured, we are not placing the life of M. Cross in jeopardy for a question of money.

We will win.
Front de Liberation du Quebec.

Communiqué no 6

The Front de Liberation du Quebec suspends temporarily the threat to execute the diplomat J. Cross, following the broadcast of the manifesto on Radio-Canada.

Here are the two remaining conditions to which the established authorities must accede to save the life of J. Cross.

1- The liberation of the consenting political prisoners and their transportation, with their wives and families, to Cuba or Algeria.

2- The immediate halting of searches, arrests, persecutions and tortures on the part of the fascist police forces. When we decided to take the diplomat, we figured out all

the possibilities, including the sacrifice of our lives.

If ever the police forces should find us and attempt to intervene we will defend our lives to the end and J. Cross will be executed on the spot.

And we have enough dynamite in our possession to make us feel secure.

This communique ends with the solemn promise before the people of Quebec that M. Cross will be liberated, living and in good health, within 24 hours of the return to Montreal of the observers, Pierre Pasceau, Louis Fournier and M. Robert Lemieux, who will confirm publicly that all has been successful in the operation.

We will win.
Front de Liberation du Quebec.

Communiqué no 8

Faced with the attitude of the established authorities of not seeing to our demands, the Chenier cell of the FLQ has taken the minister of unemployment and assimilation of Quebec, Pierre Laporte. The minister will be executed Sunday evening at 10 o'clock unless the established authorities respond favourably to the seven original demands which went

with the taking of diplomat James Cross. Any partial acceptance of the demands will be considered a refusal. Meanwhile the Chenier cell will continue the communication, techniques which have been used throughout the operation.

We will win.
Front de Liberation du Quebec.

You have, in effect, the power to decide my fate. If it is not a question of this — if it were a sacrifice and only this was concerned, then this sacrifice must produce good results. But we are confronted with a well-organized escalation which can only end with the freedom of the political prisoners. After me there will be a third, then a fourth, then a fifth. If political figures are protected they will strike other classes of society. It would be better to act swiftly than to invite a blood bath and really useless panic.

From the first Laporte letter to Robert Bourassa

a chronology: dance

Early Monday morning, Oct. 5, James Richard Cross, Senior British Trade Commissioner in Montreal, was kidnapped from his plush upper Westmount home...

The FLQ ransom note (see Communiqué No. 1, p.7) demanded the release of political prisoners and their safe passage to Cuba or Algeria.

The FLQ gave the governments involved 48 hours to comply with this and the several other demands.

The first waves of concern immediately rippled through government chambers at both the federal and provincial levels and what was to follow was a chess game between flabbergasted government officials and the FLQ members.

On Tuesday, Oct. 6, word was passed on by federal authorities, federal provincial and local police in Montreal and Quebec City, to impose tight security measures but "to play it cool and don't panic the abductors."

That same day the Quebec cabinet held an emergency three hour session in an attempt to come to grips with a situation they said "threatened" the freedom of Canadians.



Since Oct. 5, the provincial and federal authorities have been holding hands. The attempt to root out the FLQ "abductors" and halt "subversion" in Quebec has been carried on mainly by undercover police who are in touch with the FBI, Scotland Yard and Interpol.

External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp immediately called for police protection of all foreign diplomats in Canada and guards to watch the premises of every embassy and consular office.

The militant revolutionary tactics of the FLQ shocked top government officials throughout the "free world".

Canadian officials had considered any threat to their embassy or personnel so remote that they had little part in discussions that led to the establishment of a special 700-man executive protection service.

"But I guess this brings us very much into play," one official commented. "We are no longer just observers."

Not before too long newspapers across the country printed at least excerpts of the manifesto of the FLQ.

"The FLQ is neither the messiah nor a modern day Robin Hood," says the Manifesto.

"It is a group of Quebec workers who have decided to get everything in motion so that the people of Quebec may definitely take their destiny into their own hands."

The FLQ describes itself not as a movement of aggression, but "the answer to aggression. The one organized by high finance through the intervention of federal and provincial government puppets."

Reference in the Manifesto was made to premier Robert Bourassa's promise to provide 100,000 new jobs in Quebec by 1971. The document states:

"Bourassa will mature in the year ahead when he sees 100,000 revolutionary workers organized and armed."

"We are fed up and so are more and more Quebecois with a spineless government which makes a thousand and one somersaults to charm American millionaires while begging them to come and invest in Quebec..." the Manifesto says.

Tuesday, Oct. 6, Sharp informed the abductors that the federal government would in no way comply with the ransom demands. But he added he was ready to make some kind of deal.

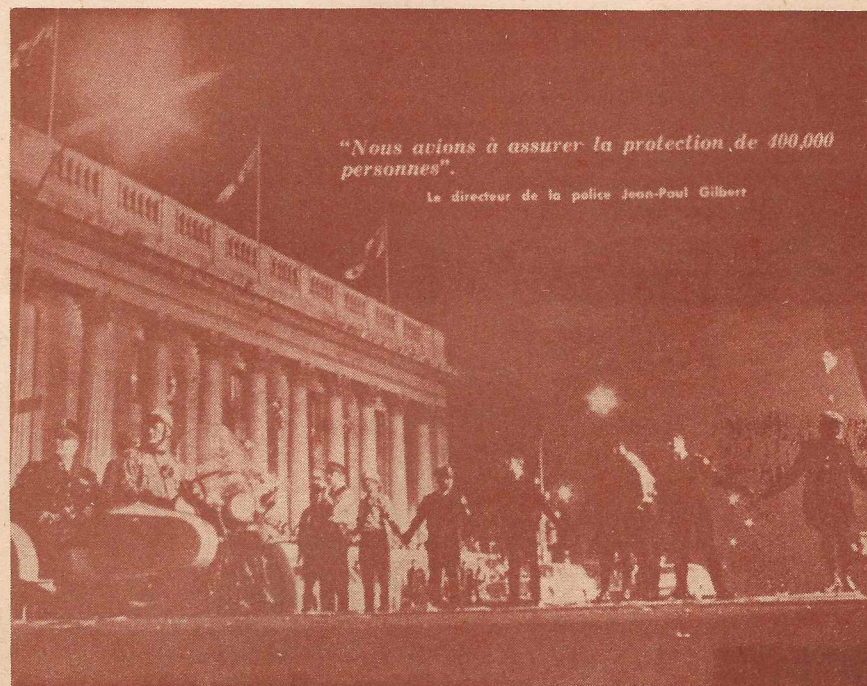
And Tuesday night the government announced its agreement with Ottawa that the ransom price would be impossible to meet.

At the same time, lawyer Robert Lemieux, legal counsel for many "Felquistes", held his first press conference. The conferences turned into daily events with up to 300 reporters from all over the world attending.

Lemieux said, and reiterated, that the government was playing games. It professed to wanting negotiations but kept up its intense police hunt.

He also continually emphasized that the FLQ had resorted to the guerrilla tactics of kidnapping because of the way their colleagues had been treated by the courts.

Pierre-Paul Geoffrey, for example, was sentenced to an unprecedented (anywhere in North America) 124 life sentences — 5,850 years in jail. In



of the hours

addition, Lemieux noted testimony from delegates to the FLQ trials from the International League of the Rights of Man which indicated that the men had been convicted, not for specific crimes, but for their political views.

Tuesday night a second communique was received by radio station CKAC in Montreal from the FLQ stating if the demands were not met by 8:30 am Wednesday "we will do away with him."

The same evening Prime Minister Trudeau said "the will of the minority cannot be imposed on the majority by force."



In the meantime, lawyer Lemieux, named by the FLQ as their negotiator, was arrested in his \$16 per week room at the Felson Hotel in Montreal on charges of obstruction of justice.

He was released on Tuesday morning after a hearing in court.

A government negotiator was named. Thirty-three year old Robert Demers, a member of the Bourassa clan, was to negotiate with Lemieux. The two lawyers first met in Lemieux' jail cell Monday evening.

Their meeting highlighted two days of exchanges between the two cells of the FLQ and Bourassa, who broke what was a hardline government position when he announced that talks about the 23 FLQ prisoners could not be held until after the safe return of the two hostages.

Wednesday, as tensions mounted, justice minister Jerome Choquette, in an appeal to gain sympathy for the Quebec government, asked the kidnappers of Cross to call him to negotiate.

The same day another communique was found that extended the ransom deadline until Thursday midnight. The FLQ said it would not negotiate with the government, but it asked the federal government which of its seven demands the government found unreasonable.

But in an attempt to spare Cross' life, a further deadline was set.

On Friday, Montreal police revealed they were searching for five prime suspects and on Saturday they announced no steps had been taken by the federal penitentiary authorities to prepare the exchange of prisoners for Cross.

Saturday, Oct. 10, premier Bourassa issued an initial ultimatum saying none of the demands of the FLQ would be met by the government and he announced a final proposition to the kidnappers saying if they gave themselves up and returned the British official unharmed they would be given safe passage out of the country.



The FLQ reply to this proposal was not long in coming. Thirty-five minutes later Quebec labor minister Pierre Laporte joined the ranks of the kidnapped in the hands of the FLQ. The minister was taken by two men armed with machine guns as he was playing football on his front lawn.

Laporte's capture was followed by another communique Sunday morning from the FLQ. The handwritten note revealed the second kidnapping had not

been carried out by the original cell of the FLQ, but by a group identifying itself as the Chenier cell.

Although at this point, the price of Cross' life had been reduced to the release of the 23 political prisoners, and the cessation of police activities with respect to the kidnappings, the price set for Laporte was somewhat stiffer — it was made up of all seven initial demands of the FLQ.

A further communique Monday confirmed that if the demands were both met the hostages would not be executed.

The same day hundreds of heavily armed Canadian troops were brought into Ottawa to protect cabinet ministers, diplomats, prominently wealthy people and federal buildings from possible FLQ attacks.

As many as 1,000 troops entered the capital from Camp Petawawa Sunday night.

Thousands of troops were trucked into the Montreal area from New Brunswick and others were flown in from Saskatchewan. Troops have been guarding any prominent building for the last six days in Montreal and police began raiding homes of sympathizers of the FLQ and suspected FLQ members at the same time. The toll rose to 250 by Friday night following passage of the war measures bill in the House of Commons at 4 am Friday morning.

Police immediately took advantage of the situation to clean out all the left wing groups in Montreal that they'd wanted to get at since Drapeau warned last year of a revolutionary conspiracy in the city where he is mayor.

The police went after radical press shops (they smashed equipment in at least three), draft dodgers, deserters, radical Vietnamese students and militant workers committees. For safekeeping, they also rounded up a selection of lawyers, journalists, singers and doctors.

Friday afternoon, with the War Measures Act in force, all negotiations broke down between the FLQ and the government. When Lemieux resigned as negotiator, making it clear that he thought the government would not negotiate, he called the government's actions hysterical.

The action taken by the Trudeau government "shouldn't affect any peaceful democratic Canadian," federal justice minister John Turner said in a press interview Friday.

"Those who want to change the government through the ballot box have no reason to fear the measures taken by us," he said before entering the Commons to defend the action.

"What about the mounting arrests in the Montreal and Quebec City areas," he was asked.

"The Attorney General in that province must have had some reason to suspect them," he said with a grin.

Since the War Measures bill was put into effect, the Trudeau government has been given verbal support from Premiers Robarts of Ontario, Smallwood of Newfoundland, Thatcher of Saskatchewan and Strom of Alberta.

But the measures of the government have brought strong opposition as well from many labor and student and welfare groups across the country.

Demonstrations against the war action began to grow across the country in Calgary, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec City, Ottawa and Regina.

In defence of its action, government officials said they put the act into effect following the receipt of a Montreal police report on subversives in the city.

The secret report was apparently transmitted to Montreal police sometime in the past two days.

But little else is known. Radio and newspapers have had sketchy reports following the passage of the war act.

Saturday night at 11 pm, Quebec Premier Bourassa told the FLQ that they would be given safe conduct to Cuba if they would surrender Cross and Laporte to officials at Man And His World in Montreal.

An hour later, the body of Laporte was found in the trunk of the car used in his abduction at a military airport outside of Montreal. There were reports that Cross' body had also been found, but his proved untrue. On Sunday afternoon, a private radio station received another FLQ communique and letters written by Cross showing that he was still alive.

On Wednesday, October 21, Regional Economic Expansion Minister, Jean Marchand, claimed in a radio interview that the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), which is running in the Montreal civic elections (Sunday, October 25th), is a "front" for the FLQ.

Two FRAP candidates, Dr. Henri Bellemare and Jean Roy had been detained and held incommunicado under the War Measures Act.

Thursday, in the House of Commons, the opposition accused the Government of dictatorship and implied that the War Measures Act was being used to determine the outcome of the civic elections. T C Douglas asked Justice Minister Turner to investigate charges that police were demanding that FRAP election posters be taken down under threat of imprisonment under the War Measures Act.

David Lewis, deputy leader of the NDP, asked Trudeau whether "the statement made (by Marchand) was one which the government approves of, and secondly, whether it means that under the WMA regulations members of FRAP are members of an illegal organization and are subject to arrest". Trudeau answered no to the second question, but refused to express disapproval of Marchand's accusation.

Jean Roy and Dr. Henri Bellemare, the two jailed FRAP candidates, were released Thursday. In the context of Marchand's accusation and a similar claim by Drapeau that "blood would flow in the streets of Montreal" (if FRAP were successful in Sunday's elections), the party is somehow supposed to carry on its election campaign.

Drapeau has been mayor of Montreal since 1954. He won 94% of the popular vote in 1966 and his Civic Party held 45 out of 53 of the Council seats. But in 1966 this mandate was achieved when there were only about 350,000 eligible voters, all of them property owning taxpayers, and the voting turnout was slight.

New Quebec municipal election regulations may threaten this mandate. For the first time everyone over the age of 18 can vote; for the first time tenants and their wives are eligible. This increases the number of eligible voters to nearly 700,000. FRAP's candidates and supporters are mostly members of the Quebec labour movements and may well make up a large proportion of these new voters.



Upon his release from jail, FRAP candidate Jean Roy declared that the massive arrests were a "systematic, arbitrary pick-up of every leftist person" known to police. He said he was asked only two questions: "Do you know anyone in the FLQ?" and "What do you think of the FLQ?" To the first he answered "no". He refused to answer the second. To ask such a question implies the imposition of the War Measures Act to stifle "thought" about the social criticisms and demands of the FLQ. Thus, presses have been smashed, papers seized, and distributors detained under the powers of the Act where the Manifesto has been published and distributed.



It is in this context of "thought control" that supposedly normal civic elections are to take place in Montreal. It is in this context that Canadians are supposed to somehow relate to events in Quebec. It is in this context that Quebecois are left to evaluate the programs of numerous left-wing groups who have been growing and coming together in the face of deteriorating economic and social conditions.

a history of REPRESSION

In the wake of the proclamation of the War Measures Act, over three hundred people were swept into the jails of Quebec. No charges were laid. No bail was set.

They face possible imprisonment without trial for three months. No charges were laid because they had broken no laws. They were arrested because they were "believed to be members of the FLQ or SYMPATHETIC TO ITS CAUSE." (Vancouver Sun, Oct. 17, p.1)

These militant labour leaders, political figures from the Parti Quebecois, government officials, members of Citizens Committees, doctors, lawyers, journalists, T V producers etc. are being held under the authority of the provisions of the War Measures Act. In addition, in the process of over 1,600 raids, the government has stopped the publication of a wide range of journals and newspapers, seized records from union and law offices and even medical records have been taken.

P M Trudeau evoked the sweeping powers of the Act because . . . "The authority contained in the Act will permit governments to deal effectively with the nebulous yet dangerous challenge to society represented by terrorist organizations. The criminal law, as it stands, is simply not adequate to deal with systematic terrorism." (Speech to the nation, Oct. 16th)

But the 300 "sympathizers" with the cause of Quebec independence have not been charged with complicity in the kidnappings nor with any other terrorist activities. The War Measures Act was evoked because there was no other fast and legal way to detain over 300 people who had committed no crime.

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."
Santayana

This is not the first time the War Measures Act has been used for purposes of political repression. Since its enactment during the First World War, the Act has been used to suppress a variety of groups and individuals considered dangerous and offensive to those holding state and economic power.

Opposition to conscription brought forth a wave of repression in 1917. Under the provisions of the War Measures Act which provide powers of "arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation" a manhunt was instituted for conscientious objectors prominent in the labour movement.

Albert 'Ginger' Goodwin, past vice-president of the B C Federation of Labour and organizer for the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, had been placed in Class D (unfit for service) because he was tubercular. While leading a strike in Trail he was reclassified and called up for active service. The subsequent manhunt resulted in his being shot in the back by a provincial police bounty hunter. His killer was indicted for murder but was later exonerated.

Romeo Albo, an anti-war Italian immigrant, was another victim of the WMA. Mistreated by authorities while being held for deportation, he died in a Lethbridge hospital.

In 1917 under the authority of the WMA a number of acts of political intimidation occurred. Orders in Council were issued banning fourteen radical organizations including the Social Democratic Party and the IWW.

"It outlawed any endeavors to bring about governmental, political, social, industrial or economic change in Canada by the use of force. No meetings were allowed to be conducted in Ukrainian, Russian or Finnish."

Paul Phillips, NO POWER GREATER p.75

Under the Act's powers of "censorship, and the control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications and means of communications" the Victoria Labour

Council's newspaper, THE WEEK and the Socialist Party paper, THE CLARION were suppressed and those caught distributing them were prosecuted. Canadian workers were imprisoned for possession of publications of the Charles Kerr Company, a major publisher of socialist literature. Many of the books in question can today be found in almost any bookstore or public library on the continent. Even then, the same books printed on the same plates by British publishers were not illegal.

During this same period of hysteria, the editor of the B C FEDERATIONIST was jailed for publishing Lenin's LEFT WING COMMUNISM.

Again under the authority of the War Measures Act in 1919 workers who had met to form an International Workers Association in support of the Russian Revolution were arrested and sentenced to jail terms. Since the war ended in 1918, Canada was technically at peace in 1919. So Trudeau's use of the act in 'peace time' is not unprecedented.

The War Measures Act was again proclaimed during World War II. Under the section giving the government powers of "appropriation, control, forfeiture and disposition of property and of the use thereof" the legal basis was provided for the seizure of the property of thousands of Japanese Canadians in B C and their forced removal to the interior.

Communists and various critics of the war, conscription, and government policies in general were placed in a concentration camp in the middle of the Petawawa Military Camp. Among the known opponents to the war in Quebec were Mayor Houde of Montreal and Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Trudeau escaped prosecution under the Act possibly due to his family connections. The more outspoken Mayor Houde was not so fortunate and was interned at Petawawa.

When Germany invaded Russia, Canadian communists became strongly supportive of the Allied struggle, and more strongly opposed to fascism than they had been. Yet when many of them wanted to enlist and fight in Europe as Canadians, they were prevented from doing so and detained in Camp Petawawa (officially a "POW Camp") until the war ended.

In addition to the large number interned in camps, numerous people were sentenced to jail terms for "subversive activities", such as distributing anti-war leaflets.

In the dying months of the war, the Act was used for the arrest and detention of a number of alleged members of the "atom spy ring". No atomic secrets were involved. The "enemy" was our wartime ally, the Soviet Union. Nothing substantial was ever proven. But a number of people were subjected to

prolonged detention and interrogation under duress and a few were caught up in the technicalities of the Official Secrets Act and sent to prison. This incident marked the beginning of the propaganda campaign that was to culminate in the United States with the execution of the Rosenbergs and the McCarthyite hysteria. (see THE ATOM SPY HOAX by William A Reuben, and a pamphlet by a Nova Scotia lawyer, Roscoe Fillmore, "In Darkest Ottawa")

"He (Trudeau) said the government intends to bring in later special, less harsh, less comprehensive legislation to deal with radical groups." (Vancouver Sun, Oct. 17, p.2)

In view of the fact that the government has promised to introduce new special legislation to replace the War Measures Act, it is important to understand the special legislation that replaced the War Measures Act after World War I and how these new laws were used.

In 1919 the Canadian government was attempting to negotiate a \$100 million loan in the USA. Wall Street financiers demanded guarantees that "revolution" in western Canada would be suppressed before the loan would be made.

Labour unrest in the west focused on Winnipeg with the development of the General Strike. The government wished to smash the strike as quickly as possible but feared to use the War Measures Act. It was clear that there would be widespread opposition to the reimposition of wartime restrictions.

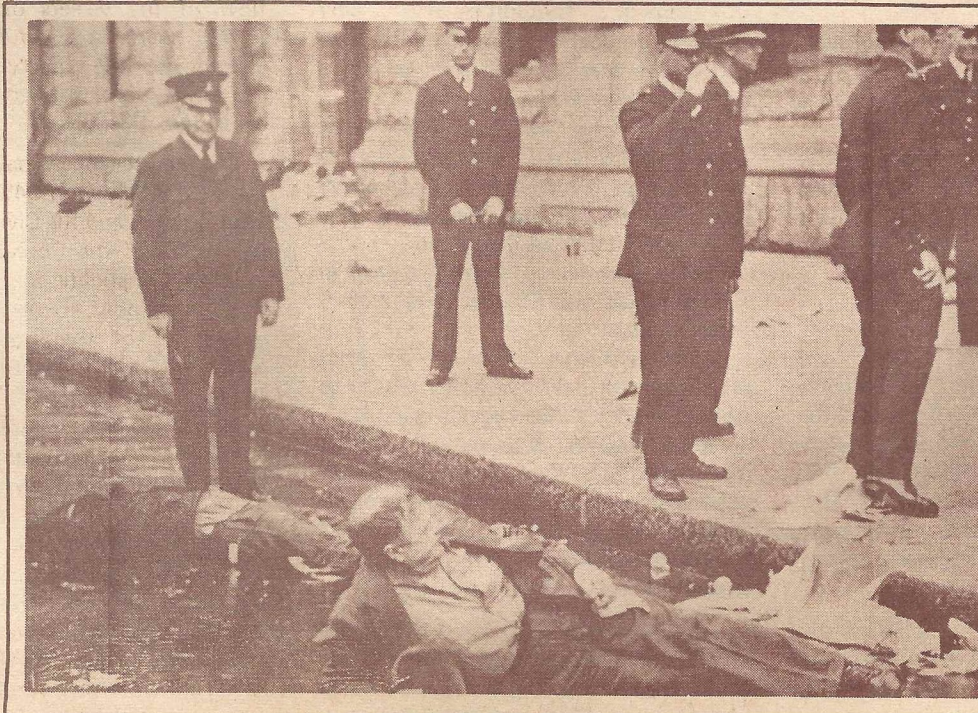
On June 6th the Borden government introduced an amendment to the Immigration Act which allowed for the deportation of British subjects by executive order. The bill received twenty minutes of debate in the House and passed all stages in the House and Senate, received the signature of the Governor-General, thus becoming law, all in the space of less than forty minutes.

On June 10th a report of a Committee on Sedition and Seditious Propaganda was introduced in the House. The recommendations of the committee were adopted as an amendment to the Criminal Code as Section 98. This amendment provided for a very broad definition of seditious intent and increased the maximum penalty on conviction from 2 to 20 years. This special legislation provided for imprisonment for membership in certain specified organizations. It was used to cover mass arrests, jailings and deportations, behind a screen of 'anti-Bolshevist' terror and hysteria. Mounted police assisted the so-called "Committee of 1000" made up of employers, and attacked the striking workers, killing several.

During the Depression, hunger and repression were the order of the day. In Quebec special legislation was enacted to deal with the rising unrest. Duplessis' infamous "Padlock Law" allowed police to lock any premises, homes, or public buildings, suspected of being used as meeting places for "subversive groups". Even premises used by the Jehovah's Witnesses were padlocked.

During the early thirties almost 30 percent of Canadian workers were unemployed. In 1931, 12,000 eviction orders were served in Toronto alone. Workers were clubbed and jailed for resisting having their families thrown out on the street. Nick Zenchuck was

continued on page 15



1938
Gigey, these victims of Vancouver's turmoil lie waiting for an ambulance. Forty-two rioters and five police were injured. The descent of the unemployed followed closing of many logging camps in the north. The provincial government was heartily criticized, first for its inaction regarding the jobless lumbermen, subsequently for its use of force.

POPULAR SUPPORT

The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented, by outworn institutions, from satisfying itself. The want may not yet be felt as strongly, as generally, as might ensure immediate success; but every attempt at forcible repression will only bring it forth stronger and stronger, until it fursts its fetters.

Karl Marx, 1851

The fact is that the objectives articulated in the FLQ Manifestos are the same as those of many Quebec citizens' groups, unions, political organizations, etc. and are accepted by many, many thousands of Quebecois.

If the FLQ really were just a bunch of out-of-touch fanatics like Trudeau and the media tell us, then why would the government go to the lengths it has to prevent the publicizing of its political objectives? Ideas aren't "dangerous" unless large numbers of people relate to them. What the Trudeau government fears is that if Quebecois people become aware of what the FLQ political objectives are, they will realize that they aren't fanatics, that their actions are political, and that "what they're saying is what I'm feeling".

But up until now the revolutionary movement in Quebec has been badly fragmented. The FLQ spoke in its May, 1970 Manifesto of the need to "end our isolation which plays into the hands of the establishment", and the urgency of "forming a common front of all the progressive forces in Quebec". The FLQ has even declared its intention to disband itself upon the formation of a real workers' party in Quebec.

The events of the past few weeks must be seen as an attempt to galvanize the unification of the left in Quebec and the formation of such a party.

Vallieres and Gagnon have openly avowed their leadership positions in the '65-'66 FLQ and have publically stated their belief in the necessity of a revolution to achieve socialist independence in Quebec. Indeed, Vallieres, in a 1968 magazine article (written from prison) speaks of the necessity of "acts of sabotage selected for the political significance" and even specifically mentions "the kidnapping of political personalities" as a desirable tactic.

The politicians and the establishment press are clearly pulling out all the stops in trying to give, English-Canadians the impression that the FLQ is just

a bunch of isolated fanatics with no support from the Quebecois people. Almost every article we read seems to be trying to give us that impression.

But a careful survey of even what does get through the media can show us that the FLQ has a solid base of support in Quebec.

On October 16th, 5,000 workers and students attended a rally at Paul Sauve arena in Montreal to voice strong support for the FLQ.

In addition, students at many educational institutions in Quebec have undertaken militant actions in support of the FLQ's struggle. These include a strike and occupation at the Montreal campus of l'Universite due Quebec, and strikes at CEGEP Vieux-Montreal, Universite d'Ottawa, and the Arts and Social Science Faculty at l'Universite de Montreal as well as other schools.

Support for the objectives of the FLQ has been voiced by the 60,000-member Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, as well as the Montreal civic political party FRAP.

Finally, when CBC's "Week-end" programme interviewed "men-in-the-street" just after the kidnappings, more than half of the dozen or so French-speaking people interviewed expressed varying degrees of support for the actions.

But facts like these should not be too surprising to anyone who has been following the highly sympathetic public reaction of Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon over the last few years.

In other words, the population of Quebec has always been fully aware of what Vallieres and Gagnon stood for. And yet very large segments of the population have been assiduously following their trials, clearly "rooting" for them.

This sympathy has had its reflection in the coverage of their court cases by the French-language press. When Gagnon was acquitted on one of the serious charges against him, *Montreal-Matin* ran an extra-large headline "GAGNON ACQUITTE!" Even the notorious *Time Magazine* admitted in its recent story on the FLQ that the two men had been "almost elevated to the status of martyrs".

Many diverse organizations demanded their release on bail and when this was finally granted to Gagnon last spring, *La Presse* ran almost a whole page of human-interest type stories about his first day of freedom.

Given all of these facts, we can understand much more clearly what the FLQ has been attempting to accomplish and why the government is implementing the War Measures Act to suppress distribution of its Manifesto and all expression of support for its principles.



The material for this special issue of the Yellow Journal was prepared in conjunction with the Free Quebec-Free Canada Committee.

Next issue we'll be back to normal...

Revolution! Everywhere!

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repression

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shot in the back by a Montreal policeman while being evicted, while in Estevan, Saskatchewan RCMP killed three striking miners and wounded thirteen.

In August of 1931, the Bennett government used Section 98 against the Communist Party of Canada which had been active in the struggles of the unemployed. On August 11th simultaneous raids (7:00 AM E.S.T.) were carried out against party offices and the homes of party officials from coast to coast. Eight men were sentenced to terms ranging up to five years in the Kingston Penitentiary. One Yugoslav was deported with full knowledge that he would face almost certain death upon arrival in Yugoslavia. Only the protests of the French working class and the subsequent intervention of the French government saved his life. Another man, Hans Kuss, was deported to Germany where he spent five years in a concentration camp.

For the next few years Section 98 was to remain

as a constant source of intimidation and was used often against militants and opponents of government inaction during the hungry thirties. As a result, a powerful public campaign was launched to abolish Section 98. Over 483,000 signatures were obtained demanding its repeal. It was finally removed from the books in 1936 and that is why no special legislation, outside of the War Measures Act, is in existence today.

It took seventeen years to get rid of Section 98. And now we are assured of new special legislation which we are promised will serve a similar purpose. We cannot afford to waste another 17 years on defensive battles. If history has taught us anything it is that we must stand united in opposition to such repressive laws before they are even enacted.

The bill of rights and civil liberties can be wiped out literally in the space of one night. We must face squarely the reality of our insecurity in the context

of such a fragile "democracy". The danger should be met not with increasing paranoia but with organized resistance to the proposed legislation and greater determination to carry on and support the struggles for liberation on all fronts despite the intimidation.

Despite Mayor Campbell's expressed ambitions for Vancouver, it seems likely that the War Measures Act will be primarily used to isolate and mask the repression of the Quebec liberation struggle. Our immediate task must be to actively support the struggle for self-determination of the Quebecois. We should demand the release of the 300 + and call for a halt to the use of the Act for purposes of political repression.

In the face of the powers of censorship over the media provided by the Act and in the face of the national hysteria being generated by the media, we should assume responsibility for finding out and conveying as truthfully and effectively as possible to the people of Canada both the actual events in the coming months in Quebec as well as the day to day realities of life in Quebec which continue to feed the struggle for liberation.

counterviolence

"Violent and fanatical men are attempting to destroy the unity and the freedom of Canada. One aspect of that crisis is the threat which has been made on the lives of two innocent men."

Pierre Elliot Trudeau - October 16, 1970

"Sure I dig the revolution, man! But all this killing, well, I dunno, I don't agree with using violence."

Anonymous youth

WHAT IS VIOLENCE?

Funk and Wagnall's tells us it is the "abusive exercise of power; injury; outrage", and P E Trudeau tells us that the FLQ is violent; Spiro Agnew tells us that students and blacks are violent; Tom Campbell tells us that long-haired hippies, draft-dodgers, the VLF, the unemployed are all dangerous and violent. We learn very quickly that violence is one of the worst evils our society knows of, and we see that our government will go to any lengths to 'stamp it out.'

But we have a feeling that anything that links together hippies and blacks and the unemployed and students and war resisters with revolutionary fighters can't be totally condemned. But how can we ever justify killing other people? Why can't we make the revolution peacefully?

"Listen Comrades. The liberation war has just begun. Resist, endure, do not collaborate. Strike. You will be free."

Timothy Leary

VIOLENCE IN OUR SOCIETY

We live in a violent society; a society which ultimately is based on the state's ability to force us to obey. If we do not follow the rules, we can be fined, jailed or even executed -- our very lives belong to the state.

The society exerts more subtle forms of physical violence which are so common we don't even notice them. In an affluent society, the poverty of nearly one-third of the citizens is appalling violence. It means an inadequate diet that cuts years off every hungry man's life; it means disease and chronic illness with no money to buy medication; it means a welfare mother watching her children grow up with few chances of living "the good life."

A society which adopts a policy of creating unemployment to "cool off the economy" does violence to all those men and women who suddenly are laid off with no income, no savings, no security. It's not the personal violence of a face-to-face fight; it is the impersonal, institutional violence of "policy decisions" which have far more devastating effects on larger numbers of people than two men in a fist fight.

"I've killed lots of gooks. It's easy. I just fire, and they die over there. I never even see them."

American Marine.

The violence of racial, sexual, or cultural discrimination is more obvious. We know that Canadian native peoples, Indians and Eskimos, have less than one-half the life expectancy of the "average" Canadian(white). We begin to understand why blacks in America are fighting the system; we understand too, the struggle that women have begun. But we in English Canada do not know much about the degrading position of Quebecois in their own province, where people who speak only English earn almost twice as much as those who speak only French, and even more than those who speak both languages. In Quebec, says the B & B Commission, it pays not to speak French!

Canada has a system of privilege based on wealth and birth; if you are poor or don't have connections, your chances of dying prematurely are higher, and the Prime Minister won't bemoan your passing.

WOMENS CAUCUS: *"If someone close to you needed an abortion, she'd get one. Rich women can get safe abortions. It's poor women who die."*

TRUDEAU: "So....?"

SPECIAL VIOLENCE

There are more open forms of violence that the society condones, although with some reluctance. Police are "allowed" to beat up drunks, vagrants, hippies, homosexuals, students (if they're demonstrating), Indians, and anyone else in a disadvantaged position. The Quebec Provincial Police are notorious for their brutality. Only last February, their beating of Walter Redel, B C Lands Director, made front-page headlines nationwide, highlighting a disregard for civil liberties that the Quebecois constantly face.

Workers who attempt to organize know too the violence of the police. At Murdochville, Quebec and Kapuskasing, Ontario striking workers were beaten by the police, and several were killed. At Kapuskasing, one of the workers was killed by a bullet from the mayor's gun. No one was prosecuted.

Our society has a vested interest in racial discrimination for profit, which is particularly evident outside our borders. Canadian companies in South West Africa participate in a virtual slave system of black labour. Our imperialist policies in the Caribbean are also based on exploitation of native, i.e. black, labour; and our government supports them.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WHOM?

It's pretty clear that the state is perfectly capable of using violence to control its subjects, and that it is well-equipped to do so. The Canadian government's removal of all civil liberties from its citizens, and its willingness to sacrifice human lives, in the case of "two innocent men" (from THEIR perspective), shows that the state will defend itself at any price.

If we fight back, and if we begin to be successful, we too will be seen as an "apprehended insurrection" whether we use physical means or moral suasion. At the point that we become effective in challenging THEIR system, THEIR values, all the power of the state will come down on us. They do violence to us every day, in a million little ways. If we seriously challenge them, they will move from hassles to busts, from beatings to killing.

If we want to control our society, our lives, we will have to take that control from those who now have it. They will not give up their privilege, their power easily or gracefully. They are equipped and ready to fight a war. THEY HAVE DECLARED WAR. What should our response be.....?

"The mobilisation of the masses, when it arises out of the war of liberation, introduces into each man's consciousness the ideas of a common cause, of a national destiny and of a collective history. In the same way the second phase, that of the building-up of the nation, is helped on by the existence of this cement which has been mixed with blood and anger. Thus we come to fuller appreciation of the originality of the words used in these under-developed countries. During the colonial period the people are called upon to fight against oppression; after national liberation, they are called upon to fight against poverty, illiteracy and under-development. The struggle, they say, goes on. The people realise that life is an unending contest."

Frantz Fanon

The Wretched of the Earth